

The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND

We are verily guilty concerning our brother *** therefore is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., EDITORS

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THE PHILANTHROPIST.

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POETRY

ODE.

The following beautiful lines were sung at the late celebration of Independence at Williams College, after the Address delivered by request of the Anti-Slavery Society. They are supposed to be the spontaneous breathings of a liberated slave, just embarked for his native shore.

The high heaving bark spread her wings to the sweep
Of the grove-scented gales as she moved in her pride;
While bright eyes were glancing afar o'er the deep,
And soft strains of gladness were blent with the tide.

We are free, brothers, free from the scourge and the chain,
That has cankered for years round the toil-caloused limb;
Then light bound our hearts as the roe of the plain,
And the sun of our joy let no sorrows bedim.

The bright star of freedom beams proudly and high,
Lo, the night of oppression shall shroud us no more;
For the white friend has wiped away from our eyes,
And bade us go free from his crime darkened shore.

Freely, mightily land of the noble and brave,
Sincerely we leave our best blessing to thee,
With a sigh when we think that the groan of the slave,
Is heard on the same breeze with songs of the free.

How gladly our tears would erase the foul blot,
That canker the world on the scroll of thy worth;
But the grief of a world can ne'er follow the spot,
Where man, reckless man, trod his fellow to earth.

We are bound for the land of our fathers afar,
And the blue wilds of ocean listening we roam—
For hope tells of kindred that watch for us there,
And glad bosoms bounding to welcome us home.

And when on the soil of our sires we repose,
'Neath the coon tree lifting its voice to the wind,
While we smile at the kindness that soothed our woes,
We will weep for the land left groaning behind.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, FEB. 21, 1837.

OHIO LEGISLATURE.

Report of the Judiciary Committee, on the subject of Fugitives from Justice.

IN SENATE, JANUARY 10, 1837.

The standing committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the memorial of sundry citizens of Clermont, praying the Legislature "to take under consideration, the subject of regulating in a more just and effectual manner, the proof and trial in cases of fugitive slaves," report:

The memorialists, who are a numerous body of respectable citizens of the county of Clermont, represent that the enforcement of the act of Congress, passed the 12th of February, 1793, upon the subject of persons escaping from the service of their masters, "is a source of indescribable mental and physical suffering, to its immediate victims, and of painful sympathy and regret, to the humane and patriotic citizen, who may be compelled to witness the spectacle."

They complain that by virtue of the provisions of that law, "a man may by the warrant of a single Justice of the Peace, be consigned to infernal slavery, no matter how much the decision may have been influenced by interest, by ignorance, partiality, or prejudice," and they ask of the Legislature the passage of a law, by which the persons contemplated in the Constitution of the United States, and law of Congress above referred to, shall be entitled to the right of appeal, and the benefit of our higher courts. They also urge the "importance of taking out of the hands of Justices of the Peace, and city Magistrates, the ability to execute a power so great, and one so liable to be abused and perverted to the worst of purposes, and the placing it in the hands of our higher judicial officers." These views and opinions are urged and sustained by various arguments.

Your committee have endeavored to give due consideration to these representations, and the arguments urged in their support, which the importance of the subject, and the respectability of the memorialists seemed to demand. Your committee are aware that the topics discussed in the memorial are of a delicate character. 1. Unfortunately for the cause of humanity, there has, for some years past, existed in the public mind, a degree of sensitiveness upon this subject, wholly unknown at any former period in the history of Ohio. 2. This is neither the time, nor the place, to discuss the question as to the cause of this excitement, or who are responsible for the consequences; it exists, and its power and intensity are much to be regretted.

For that system of domestic slavery, prevalent in the southern States of the Union, Ohio has no community of feeling. It is here considered as a great evil, both moral and political; one fraught with more portentous consequences to our existence as a nation, than any other. The Constitution of our common country, however, recognizes the existence of this feature in our social system, and the relation of master and servant. Ohio became a constituent member of the Union, with a full knowledge of the fact. Slavery was entailed upon our country, during our colonial state; it existed at the formation of the Constitution; it is a stain upon our national escutcheon, which the existing government did not create, and for which the present generation are perhaps not responsible.

The formation of the Constitution of the United States, was the result of compromise; jarring interests, and conflicting claims were to be reconciled. Those States in which slavery existed, would not consent to the adoption of the Constitution, without a provision authorizing them to reclaim their slaves, who should escape from the service of their masters, and be found in a State where that relation did not exist. Hence, it was provided in the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, that "no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party, to whom such service or labor may be due." Whatever may be our individual opinions as to the question of slavery, we hold it to be our duty as citizens of Ohio, as long as the Constitution remains unaltered, to adhere with the most rigid fidelity to this, as well as every other provision of that hallowed instrument. 6. In these times of turmoil and excitement, nothing will tend more to our political safety, than mutual forbearance, and an unwavering determination in every member of the Union, to respect the constitutional rights of its fellow members, and preserve with strict fidelity, the principles of compromise on which the Constitution was formed.

Pursuant to the clause of the Constitution to which reference has been had, Congress, on the 12th day of February, 1793, passed an act entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," by the third section of which it is provided, "that when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the north-west or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other

of the said States or territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the State, or before any magistrate of a county, city or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made; and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit, taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such State or territory, that the person so seized or arrested, doth under the laws of the State or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate, to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor, to the State or territory from which he or she fled."

Your committee are of the opinion that the power of legislating upon this subject, was conferred upon Congress, that the general provisions of that act were made in pursuance of the Constitution, and constitute a part of the supreme law of the land. 8. It is true, that it may well be doubted, whether Congress under the Constitution, can confer any judicial power upon a State officer; and should such power be attempted to be conferred, your committee are of the opinion, that such officer might at his discretion, decline its exercise; and that the State of which he is an officer, might by legislative enactment, prohibit its exercise. 9. As Congress, however, have deemed it expedient to vest in the judicial officers of the State, where the claim is preferred, jurisdiction in this matter, it seems to your committee, that it would be alike unjust to exercise, and impolitic, for the Legislature to prohibit its exercise; unless the reason for a proceeding of that kind, was exceedingly weighty. It would produce relations apparently unfriendly, between the General and State Governments; a state of things, always to be deprecated. The consequence would be the vesting of the jurisdiction in matters of this kind, exclusively in the officers of the General Government. This, your committee believe, would be productive of great difficulty and inconvenience, not only to the claimant, but also to the person sought to be reclaimed. The remote distance at which these officers must reside from various sections of the State, would render it much easier for evil disposed persons, to kidnap the negro or mulatto, and take him beyond the limits of the State, without any judicial investigation, than under our existing regulations; and it is not difficult to perceive, that the majority of cases, it would be utterly impossible for the alleged fugitive to procure the attendance of witnesses to prove his freedom from such a distance from his residence.

In reference to that part of the memorial, which prays for the allowance of an appeal from the inferior magistrates to the higher courts in these cases, your committee would remark, that they are aware of the value of the right of appeal; and were they satisfied of the existence of the power in the Legislature, to authorize a review of the proceedings before the inferior tribunal under proper restrictions, it might be difficult to move its expediency. But they believe that under the law of Congress, exclusive cognizance of the matter is given to the officers therein enumerated, and that no appeal is contemplated, or appellate jurisdiction is conferred. An attempt of a State Legislature to confer this power, they would deem improper, and, therefore, unwise and inexpedient.

The second object of the memorialists, that is, taking out of the hands of Justices of the Peace, and city magistrates, the ability to execute this power, has already been substantially anticipated. Your committee are not aware of any flagrant abuse of the powers conferred by the act of Congress upon Justices, and city magistrates, and it would be a source of extreme regret, if they were forced to the conclusion, that any of their decisions had been influenced by "interest, ignorance, partiality, or prejudice." They hope, for the honor and credit of the judicial officers of the State, there is no foundation for such an imputation. 10. Unless, then, the reasons for an alteration in our laws, conformably to the prayer of the memorialists, are urgent and imperative, your committee would deem it inexpedient at this time, when excitement is already ripe, when the feelings of the slave-holding, and anti-slave-holding States are arrayed against each other, any farther to fan the flame, or contribute to the existing excitement. Let it be our task, to pour oil upon the troubled waters, and restore that comity and kind feeling which should characterize the intercourse between sister States. If Judges of the Supreme Court and Presidents of the Courts of Common Pleas, were the only judicial officers of the State, authorized to adjudicate upon these cases, many of the inconveniences and hardships before alluded to, would exist; and whatever may be the respectability and integrity of Associate Judges in general, they are not usually technical lawyers. In relation to city magistrates, your committee would remark, that they consider their jurisdiction in these cases, to have been virtually vested by the second section of the "Act to prevent kidnapping," which provides "That no person or person shall in any manner attempt to carry out of this State, any black or mulatto person, without first taking such black or mulatto person, before some Judge or Justice of the Peace, in the county where such black or mulatto person was taken, and there agreeably to the laws of the United States, establish by proof his or her property, in such black or mulatto person." Your committee are aware that not only every citizen of the State, but that every black and mulatto person, may be protected in those rights which are guaranteed by law; but under our existing laws, administered by honest and intelligent officers, and with the habitual reverence of our community for order and law, with the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus; we think there is a safe guarantee that the rights of the humblest individual, will be protected. Under these considerations, your committee believe it would at this time be inexpedient to legislate upon this subject, and ask to be discharged from the further consideration thereof.

NOTES.

1. They are, indeed, involving nothing more nor less than this—whether a freeman of Ohio shall be deprived of his liberty without crime—be torn from his wife, his children, his property and all he holds dear in life, to wear out that life in the bonds, and toils and despair of Southern slavery.

2. Ought it to be considered "unfortunate for the cause of humanity," that our citizens are beginning, after a long and criminal torpor, to feel "a degree of sensitiveness?" at the inhuman outrages committed almost daily by slave-hunters on the poor remnant of rights that our legislation has left to the weak and unoffending colored people? Or is this twaddle to suit the spirit of the times, or to swell up the report of the Committee to a respectable size? The people are not yet such noodles as to be deceived by such trumpery.

3. What "consequences?" Is it, the slave-holders, because there are to be found men who will tell them the truth and reprove them for their mighty trespass on humanity? Or, is it that they insult the people of the free States—trample on their most sacred rights, and make a mock of their institutions? And are these "consequences?" so much to be regretted, that the "power and intensity" of the truth, supporting law and liberty and right, must be arrested, in order that one citizen may be handed over to the slave-catcher, to be his bondman, and that his life may be appeased?

4. Here is "confusion worse confounded." Slavery is a great moral evil, (a great sin,) a political evil more portentous to our existence as a nation than any other—a stain upon our national escutcheon—a system for which Ohio has no community of feeling; and yet she must lie down, like a dumb and insensate beast, under this foul and disgraceful load. And why? Because "the Constitution of our common country recognizes the existence of this feature in our social system, and the relation of master and servant." If it be so, why then is not the Constitution changed? Is it a law of the Medes and Persians—immutable? Why does not Ohio seek the honor of first moving to purge our Constitution from the charge of recognizing, or in any way supporting this moral evil—this political evil so portentous to

our very existence? Why does she not show love of country enough to endeavor to cleanse the national escutcheon from the stain which mars its beauty, and to bring to a peaceful end a system for which she has no community of feeling, but which is continually affecting her peace and weakening her institutions.—But for this "stain," neither we nor our forefathers are at all "responsible." This sin and stain and evil, &c., &c., was "entailed" on us, "during our colonial state." Then must the mother country bear the guilt. Why, then, so much stir, when she sent her agent George Thompson among us to wipe us clean from it. But who entailed it on Kentucky, and Tennessee, or Louisiana, or Mississippi, or Alabama, or Missouri, and but the other day on Arkansas? Is England responsible, also, for this? Truly, the reasoning of the Committee, seems weak and inconclusive compared with the importance of the subject they have in hand—entirely too puerile for the strong hard sense of an Ohio Legislature.

5. We have never yet seen any proof of the truth of this assertion, and we shall continue to discredit its existence, till it is produced.

6. Then why not recommend an alteration of the Constitution in the way it prescribes? So that the "portentous consequences" of this sin, evil, &c., may be averted in time, before it is too late.

7. Did the petitioners ask any encroachment on the constitutional rights of other States? No. They asked for nothing more than that our own rights be maintained from the violent invasions of them on the part of the slave-holders.

8. See editorial head, 2d page, "Unconstitutionality of Act of Congress," &c.

9. The argument of the Committee seems perfectly suicidal. They have just before said, "the power of legislating upon this subject was conferred upon Congress."—They now say, that the State possesses the power to "prohibit its exercise," by forbidding the persons to whom Congress has entrusted the execution of the law, from executing it. It is a proposition that calls for neither proof nor argument to support it, that if the State can prevent its officers from performing duties to which they are appointed by Congress, duties which presuppose no repugnance between them and the duties owing to the State; it can also forbid the performance of them to any one else. There may be, as there often is, concurrent jurisdiction in different courts. Any one of two or more courts, may give judgment in a matter that may be litigated by any of them. A sheriff, a marshal, a constable, a bailiff may have concurrent authority to execute this judgment. In all this there is no inconsistency. But concurrent legislation is in itself an absurdity. The power of legislating is the supreme power in any country. Two supreme powers, in relation to the same thing, cannot exist. If Congress possess the power to pass the law in question, the State does not. If the State possess it, Congress does not. We conceive there is no middle ground.

10. The Committee have taken but little pains to ascertain the facts of the matter about which, they affirm so confidently. There is not only "foundation" for the assertion, that men and women have been handed over to the slave-hunter by decisions influenced by "interest, ignorance, partiality or prejudice," but cases of this kind, if they do not abound, are by no means rare. A remarkable one of this kind occurred in the case of Frank, a colored man, who lived eight years in Cincinnati uninterrupted as a freeman, in sight of the house of Gen. Taylor, under whose claim he was afterwards seized and claimed as a slave. Notwithstanding all this, and that he was brought into the State by Gen. Taylor and hired out by him as a slave, (and therefore made free,) he was yet in this summary manner torn from his family, adjudged to be a slave, and handed over to the claimant. He was at once hurried off to the Southern slave mart, and is now probably in hopeless slavery in the sugar or cotton fields of Louisiana or Mississippi.

11. Let us, at the same time, take care, that this "oil" and "comity" and "kind feeling," be not at the expense of the poor and the weak. That "intercourse" with the South which will be most permanent and healthful, must be based on a firm and unyielding maintenance of the rights of our own citizens against all who would, under any pretence, reduce them to slavery. Give the slave-hunter an inch and he will take an ell.

12. We do not question the truth of this statement, if it be applied to the great body of our country population. But can it be, that the Committee are ignorant of the disorder that has reigned through the country for the last year—of the mobocratic tumults that have been permitted in the very presence of officers of the peace without any attempt to suppress them—of the assaults that have been made on the most sacred constitutional rights of their fellow-citizens—of the public and open outrages that have been perpetrated on the rights of the press and of speech throughout our whole State, and that very few or any of them have ever been attempted to be punished by the officers of justice to whom the administration of the laws is confided? If they are ignorant of all this, they ought to be better informed. If they are not ignorant, they ought not so to have spoken.

Take the Report altogether, we have rarely seen one in which facts, lying around "as thick as blackberries," are so carefully excluded; in which there is such vagueness and obscurity of view, or such utter inconclusiveness of conclusion. It is altogether below the importance of the subject, or of the body for which it was intended.

ANNIVERSARIES.

From Poulson's Daily Advertiser.

Harrisburg, Pa., Feb. 4.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

Was in session last evening. In the last Chronicle it was mentioned that an invitation to attend its sittings was extended to the Governor, heads of Departments, and members of the Legislature. The Committee appointed to convey the invitation reported: "That we have waited on the Governor, and heads of departments, and so far as we found them at home, we were received in a polite and respectful manner. In answer to our invitation the Governor replied, that he duly appreciated the respect extended to him by the Convention in sending him the invitation; that he had already published his opinions on the subject of slavery, in his late message—he believed the occasion called for his saying what he then did, but inasmuch as it had been asserted that there was an attempt making by certain politicians to unite the subject of anti-slavery with party politics; he thought it better for him not to do anything that

would give countenance to any such report, and should therefore refrain from attending the Convention.

The Secretary of State said he should be pleased to be able to attend the Convention, but the duties of his office were such as would prevent it, and also expressed views similar to those expressed by the Governor in relation to connecting the subject of anti-slavery with party politics.

The Auditor General replied that his official duties would prevent his attendance.

The Surveyor General said he would return an answer in writing; which has not yet been received.

The other officers were not in their offices at the time your committee called on them. We therefore left for each of them a copy of the resolution of this Convention. We also sent a similar copy to every member of the Senate and House of Representatives.

All of which is respectfully submitted."

It was then "Resolved that this Convention now proceed to the formation of a State Anti-Slavery Society."

Committees were appointed: 1. To draft a Constitution; 2. To prepare business for the Convention; 3. To draft an address to the citizens of Pennsylvania; 4. To report on the laws of the United States and of this Commonwealth in regard to persons claimed as fugitives, and also all the laws of this State in regard to slavery; 5. To prepare a remonstrance to the Congress of the U. States against the admission of Texas into the Union; 6. To prepare an address to the people of color in this State; 7. To report on the progress of the Anti-slavery cause in this State.

The following memorial, signed by the officers of the Convention, was sent to the House of Representatives.

"To the Honorable, the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania:

"This memorial, from a large body of your constituents, citizens of Pennsylvania, now assembled in Convention in this borough, is to request your honorable body to grant the use of the Hall of Representatives to the Convention on to-morrow (Wednesday), and Thursday evenings, for the purpose of hearing lectures on the subject of slavery."

The question on the granting of the request elicited an animated debate in the House, and after the resolution to grant it had been modified so as to exclude from speaking in the Hall, all persons not citizens of Pennsylvania, it was defeated by a vote of 66 to 19. The resolution was opposed by Mr. McIlvaine of Philadelphia, and other speakers, and was ably advocated by the mover, George Ford of Lancaster.

In Convention, several letters were read from distinguished Abolitionists of other States, who had been invited to be present. Among these were William Jay, William Goodell, Dr. A. D. Cox, &c. Numerous resolutions were presented and advocated, some of which elicited considerable discussion. We copy the following:

1. That all professional titles be dispensed with, among the members of this Convention, during its sessions.

2. That the principles of universal liberty, inculcated by FRANKLIN, RUSH, WISTAR, JAY, LA FAYETTE, WOOLMAN, LAY and BENEZEY, and other illustrious statesmen and philanthropists, of our own and other countries, commend themselves to the serious consideration of every candid mind; that as abolitionists we fully adopt them, and fully declare, "That it having pleased the Creator of the world, to make of one flesh, all the children of men—it became them (us) to consult and promote each other's happiness, as members of the same family, however diversified they (we) may be by color, situation, religion, or different states of Society: 'That it is more especially the duty of those persons who profess to maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who acknowledge the obligations of Christianity, to use such means as are in their power to extend the blessings of freedom to every part of the human race'—and that therefore, from a full conviction of the truths and obligations of these principles—and a desire to diffuse them wherever the miseries and vices of slavery exist, and in humble confidence of the favor and support of the Father of mankind—the members of this convention pledge themselves to one another, to the friends of equal rights wherever found, to the earth bound, stricken slave, and his unchristian oppressor, to use all the lawful, moral means, they possess, to produce the effect, our fathers attempted in 1780, viz: 'to extend the blessings of freedom to every part of the human race.'"

3. That the prejudice, so long and extensively cherished against our colored brother, so far from palliating our guilt in enslaving his body, and degrading his soul, is itself a sin which may be and ought to be immediately abandoned.

4. That the system of American Slavery is such, that the entire amalgamation of the white and black races by a most sinful process—can be prevented only through the general prevalence of Anti Slavery principles.

5. That if it be unjust, to compel the laborer to work without wages:

If it be unmerciful to separate from him all the endearing ties, which wedded love have drawn around him:

If it be covetousness to envy him the possession of his own body and appropriate it to the use of another:

If it would be uncharitable to treat a brother in a manner in which we ourselves would not wish to be treated:

If pride consists in thinking ourselves superior to others, and refusing to acknowledge their equality in the sight of heaven:

If hatred fills the breast when efforts are made to relieve the sufferings of our species:

If revenge will induce us to treat a man worse, because others are his friends, so as to punish them through him:

And if these things are either slavery itself, or its natural fruits, then it is a deep and deadly sin; because it destroys all the heavenly virtues which constitute the divine character:

Whereas, many professedly pious ministers, and pious men, are wont to admit slavery to be an evil, who yet say the slave holder is not bound to free his slaves, until, in his judgment, the condition of the slave be improved thereby—thus clearly asserting that it is proper for a man to continue to do evil, until he judges good consequences will flow from his ceasing to do evil:

Therefore, Resolved, That if slavery be an evil, it is an evil which somebody is doing: That it is and ever must be safe to cease to do evil. That we dare not be of the number of those who say that it is or can be proper to do evil, that good may come; and that, in our judgment, if the opinions of some eminent men on this subject, were to be generally received by this community, they would go to destroy the foundations of all moral and religious obligations; since no sinner will own the consequences of his forsaking a wicked practice to be good, so long as his sin is profitable.

A resolution being presented, "that this Convention be deeply sensible of the loss which the cause of the oppressed has sustained, in the demise of our esteemed friends and former coadjutors, Thomas Shipley and Edwin P. Atlee, and that we tender our sympathy to their bereaved families," Isaac Parrish, of Philadelphia, rose and made the following remarks:

"The presentation of this resolution is calculated to excite various and solemn emotions. The names of our deceased friends are attached to the call for this Convention. But a few months ago they were among us;—now they are no more. It may be that our friends were personally unknown to a large number of the members of this Convention. But I doubt not that their names and their actions, as connected with the Anti-Slavery cause, are well known by every one who hears me. They were both active members of the American Convention, which assembled at Philadelphia in 1833, for the purpose of forming the National Anti-Slavery society, and were signers of the memorable declaration issued by that body. From that period up to the time of their death, they were both zealous and unflinching advocates of the rights of the colored man. And during the trying scenes in our own city, when attempts were made to intimidate the advocates of human rights, by resolutions and manifestoes of popular assemblies, they still held on their course unswayed and undiminished.

It may be said of Thomas Shipley, that scarcely a man in this country has devoted so much time, energy and zeal to the cause of the suffering and the dumb. He was, for many years, a member of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, and was at the time of his death, its President. To the relief of colored persons, seized as runaway slaves, he was especially devoted during a long course of years; and in a great number of instances he was instrumental in staying the yoke of slavery from those upon whom it was about to be placed.

His legal knowledge in these cases, exceeded that of many professed attorneys, and he was always on the spot, personally attending in their defence. Obloquy and reproach did not deter him for a moment from the performance of duty, nor did he consult his convenience and comfort.

In regard to our deceased friend, Dr. Atlee, it may not be necessary for me to say much. He too was a firm and enthusiastic advocate of the rights of human nature, and an intimate friend and associate of Thomas Shipley. It is a remarkable coincidence, that Dr. Atlee was appointed by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, to deliver a eulogium upon the character of our friend. Before he had time to perform this solemn tribute of respect to the memory of departed worth, he too was numbered among the silent dead. How solemn the admonition—how impressive the occurrence of such a circumstance.

Our friend met death like a Christian. Altho' his illness was short and severe, he was calm and self possessed; and when the solemn hour of his dissolution approached, he looked with holy hope and confidence toward a future state of happiness.

It was my privilege to be an inmate of his dying chamber, and to witness his meek and holy resignation to the Divine will, as he entered upon the confines of eternity. Among the last expressions which escaped him, he spoke of the satisfaction he felt at having taken an interest in the Anti-Slavery cause, and I was forcibly reminded of the truth of a remark which I have recently heard—that "though abolition principles may be unpopular to live by, yet they are good principles to die by." It becomes my duty to present to the Convention, a statement of what passed in his dying moments as connected with this occasion. With the permission of the Chairman, I will do so by reading an extract from a letter received from my reverend father, which conveys the expression referred to.—(Here Dr. Parrish read the letter from his father, which, like the speech of his son, was a striking illustration of the truth so well stated.)

The chamber where the good man meets his fate Is privileged beyond the common walks Of ordinary life; quite in the verge of Heaven.

The Convention then transacted a variety of business touching the interests of abolition—organized a State Anti-Slavery Society, of which Dr. Le Moine, of Washington country, is president. There are two executive committees of the Society; one located at Pittsburgh, and one at Philadelphia. The first annual meeting of the Society to be at Harrisburg, on the last Tuesday of January next. Delegates to be appointed to the anniversary of the American Society at New York, next May; and the delegates then pledged themselves to raise ten thousand dollars among the friends of the cause in Pennsylvania, for the Parent Society the coming year, on condition that Mr. Burleigh, an able and very popular lecturer, might be permitted to remain in the state.

CONGRESS.

THE QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

The House of Representatives, Thursday evening, Feb. 10, decided upon the resolutions censuring Mr. Adams, for suggesting that he had received a petition from slaves, and asking what disposition might properly be made of it. The vote was finally taken upon two propositions. The first in these words:

Resolved, That any member who shall hereafter present to the House any petition from the slaves of this Union, ought to be considered as regardless of the feelings of the House, the rights of the Southern States, and unfriendly to the Union.

The vote stood thus: Yeas, 95; Nays, 105.

Messrs. Hamer and M'Lane separated themselves from the Ohio delegation, on this question. Mr. Vinton was absent.

The second resolution was in these words:

Resolved, That the Hon. John Q. Adams, having solemnly disclaimed all design of doing any thing disrespectful to the House, in the inquiry he made of the speaker, as to the petition purporting to be from slaves; and having avowed his intention not to offer to present the petition to the House, was of opinion that it ought not to be presented; therefore all further proceedings in regard to his conduct do now cease.

And was negatived, yeas 23, nays 137.

Next day, Mr. Lane moved a reconsideration of the first resolution, upon which motion no vote had been taken.

The following paragraph is from the Pennsylvania Sentinel of Feb. 14th.

Abolition excitement.—The South.—Our readers will remember that, on Friday, the House of Representatives, refused to pass resolutions denouncing the course of Mr. Adams on the abolition question, and making certain declarations of principles in relation to the rights of the South. We learn from the Baltimore Chronicle that "as soon as this vote was announced, the members from the Southern States felt that it was time for them to forget their party differences. They met, immediately, in caucus, and resolved it is supposed, to absent themselves the next day, from the deliberations of the House. Accordingly on Friday morning the House appeared, as it were, in eclipse, a great many seats being vacant. The friends of the administration became alarmed. Overtures were offered, and before the close of the day's sitting a motion to reconsider the resolution was made, the consideration of which was postponed until Saturday." On Saturday the subject was renewed."

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, Feb. 11.

Abolition Excitement.—Mr. Taylor of N. York, asked the unanimous consent of the House to offer, at this time, the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas the vote of this House, taken the 9th day of February, 1837, on the following resolution: 'Resolved, that any member who shall hereafter present any petition from the slaves of this Union, ought to be considered as regardless of the feelings of the House, the rights of the Southern States, and unfriendly to the Union,' may be construed into an expression of opinion upon the abstract question of the right of slaves to petition Congress: therefore,

Resolved, That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the citizens of these United States by the Constitution.

Mr. Ingersoll said that if the resolution was entertained, he proposed to offer the following amendment; and he asked that it might be read for the information of the House. In its practical effect, the resolution was the same as that of the gentleman from New York. The resolution is as follows:

The Hon. John Q. Adams having inquired of the Speaker whether it would be in order for him to present a petition purporting to be from certain slaves, and the Speaker having appealed to the House for instructions;

Resolved, That the House cannot receive the said petition without disregarding its own dignity, the rights of a large class of citizens of the South and West, and the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Taylor said he could not accept the amendment as a modification of his own resolution.

Objections having been made to the reception of the resolution at this time—

Mr. Campbell moved a suspension of the rule.

Mr. A. Mann called for the yeas and nays on that motion.

Mr. Chambers, of Kentucky, raised the point of order, whether, since this resolution had direct reference to the resolution which a motion to reconsider was pending, the motion of the gentleman from N. York could be entertained at this time.

The Speaker said it would be contempt for the House to suspend the rule.

Mr. Lewis hoped that the question on the reconsideration of that resolution would be brought immediately before the House.

And thereupon Mr. Taylor moved to suspend the rule (which suspension would postpone the privileged question in the case of Mr. Whitney) to take up the motion submitted on yesterday by Mr. Lane, to reconsider the vote by which the following resolution had been rejected:

Resolved, That any member who shall hereafter present any petition from the slaves of this Union, ought to be considered as regardless of the feelings of the House, the rights of the Southern States, and unfriendly to the Union.

Mr. Lane asked the yeas and nays on the motion to suspend the rule.

After some remarks from Messrs. Ashley, Underwood and Mercer; Mr. Gideon Lee said that, as it was his opinion that every member perfectly understood the simple question immediately before the House, and as he believed that this discussion could not enlighten a single mind; and as, if more discussion were necessary, it might follow on the propositions which had yet to follow, he begged leave respectfully to move the previous question; in which demand he hoped the House would sustain him.

Mr. Adams said he was desirous to present a few thoughts to the House, and he hoped the call for the previous question would not be pressed. The motion for reconsideration did not, it was true, extend to that resolution, which had been most ingeniously prepared for the purpose of—

The Speaker said that the gentleman from Massachusetts could not proceed unless the demand for the previous question should be withdrawn.

Mr. G. Lee said he had made the motion under a conscientious sense of duty and he must insist upon it.

And the House seconded the demand for the previous question—Yeas 108, nays not counted.

So there was a second.

And the House determined that the main question should now be taken.

And the main question, "Will the House reconsider the vote by which the resolution was rejected?" was then taken and decided in the affirmative as follows: Yeas 159; Nays 45.

So the House determined that the vote should be reconsidered.

Mr. Taylor then moved to amend the resolution by striking out all after the word "Resolved," and inserting: "That

slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the People of the United States by the Constitution.

After some remarks from Mr. Pickens,

Mr. Ingersoll moved to amend the amendment by striking out all after the word "that," and inserting:

The Hon. John Q. Adams having inquired of the Speaker whether it would be in order for him to present a petition purporting to be from slaves, and the Speaker having appealed to the House for instructions,

Resolved, That this House cannot receive the said petition without disregarding its own dignity, the right of a large class of citizens of the South and West, and the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Ingersoll said: The amendment proposed, Mr. Speaker, is offered in a spirit of tranquility and peace. Next to the desire which should influence every member of this House to give his vote according to the dictates of a conscientious judgment, is that of giving it with the hope of reconciling conflicting sentiments, and re-producing harmony when it has been disturbed. We are informed of angry feelings, of agitated and excited minds. It is our duty, if we can, to prevent, if possible, their farther aggravation in this House, and the extension of it throughout the country. How is this best to be effected? By meeting the evil at its source; by counteracting the principal and primary mischief. To ascertain where that is, we need only look to the history of the last week. A discussion has been going on which has done no good. It might have been obviated in a moment by a prompt reply to the inquiry of the gentleman from Massachusetts. That reply would now terminate what at the beginning it would have prevented. We have reached a practical crisis. It is a practical evil that we wish to correct.

There are many propositions which are not acceptable, and are not adopted, and yet the rejection of them does not imply a negative of all or any of the propositions contained in them. There are truisms which are not rendered the stronger by being legislated on affirmatively, or the weaker by a negative vote. If, for example, it should be proposed to resolve that a republican form of government is the best; and that this Union ought to be preserved; that it hoped this Capitol will stand; that we desire to be a free, happy, and united people, no one will question the soundness of the propositions, yet not a member of the House would feel disposed to vote for any of them. They are not practical, and for that reason they are not useful. The question now at issue is mainly between theory and practice. We must meet the enquiry which has been made sooner or later, and I propose to meet it in the form which the substitute I have offered presents. The petition cannot be received, whether it be a jest, or otherwise, without compromising the dignity of the House. It aims at no useful end. It attempts the correction of no grievance. It cannot be received, because it would interfere with the rights of those to whom service and labor are due by the individuals who have forwarded it, and declared themselves to stand in that relation. It cannot be received, because in this interference it strikes at all those parts of the Constitution which recognize the system of slavery in the several states of the Union where it exists according to their chosen policy.

Mr. Vanderpool hoped his colleague (Mr. Taylor) would accept the modification, and addressed the House at some length in favor of it.

Mr. Johnson of Louisiana, proposed the following amendment to the resolution: add to the end the words "and endangering this Union."

The amendment not being in order at this time, (an amendment to an amendment being pending,) Mr. J. asked Mr. Ingersoll to accept this modification, but he declined doing so.

Mr. Ingersoll modified his resolution as follows: "An inquiry having been made by an honorable gentleman from Massachusetts whether a paper which he held in his hand, purporting to be a petition from certain slaves, and declaring themselves to be slaves, came within the order of the House of the 18th of January, and the said paper not having been received by the Speaker, he stated that, in a case so extraordinary and novel, he would take the advice and counsel of the House."

The subject was debated by Messrs. Patton, Sutherland, Bynum, Bouldin, and W. Thompson.

[Mr. Howard here gave notice (being entitled so to do, the question to which the notice referred being one of privilege,) that he should move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lincoln,) directing Mr. R. M. Whitney to be brought to the bar of the House, had been adopted.]

The subject under discussion was further debated by Messrs. Lane, Wise, Harrison, Underwood, and Craig; and after some remarks from Mr. Anthony, appealing to the House to meet the question without further discussion.

Mr. Taylor indicated his acceptance of Mr. Ingersoll's modified resolution as a modification of his own.

Mr. Adams then moved to amend the resolution, first by inserting after the words "order of the 18th of January," the words "which order is in the following words,"

Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.

Mr. A. said, probably the gentlemen from Pennsylvania would accept of this as a modification.

Mr. Ingersoll said he certainly could not do so; and, if the gentleman wished, he would assign his reasons.

Mr. Adams said he should be perfectly willing to hear the gentleman's reasons hereafter, but he could not now yield the floor.

Mr. A. then stated his second amendment, which was to strike out all after the word "Resolved," and insert "that the said paper, as stated by the member from Massachusetts, is not within the said order of the House."

Mr. A. then addressed the House at great length, in relation to the causes, progress, and effects of the discussion of the past week.

Mr. Taylor modified his resolution by adding,

Resolved, That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the citizens of the United States by the Constitution."

After some further remarks from Messrs. Granger, Alford, Taliaferro, Adams, and W. Thompson.

Mr. W. Thompson accepted the whole modified resolution as a substitute for his original proposition.

Mr. C. Johnson demanded the previous question. And there was a second.

And the House determined that the main question should now be taken.

A division of the question was then called for; which was ordered.

And the question was then taken on the first branch on the main question, which is in the following words:

"An inquiry having been made by an honorable gentleman from Massachusetts whether a paper which he held in his hand, purporting to be a petition from certain slaves, and declaring themselves to be slaves, came within the order of the 18th of January, and the said paper not having been received by the Speaker, he stated that, in a case so extraordinary and novel, he would take the advice and counsel of the House."

Resolved, That this House cannot receive said petition without disregarding its own dignity, the rights of a large class of citizens of the South and West, and the Constitution of the United States.

And the question was decided in the affirmative, as follows:—Yeas 160—Nays 35.

So the first resolution was adopted.

And the question was then taken on the second branch of the main question, which is in the following words:

Resolved, That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the citizens of the United States by the Constitution.

Mr. Haley moved to lay the whole subject on the table; which motion was rejected.

And the question on the second branch of the main question was then taken, and decided in the affirmative as follows:—Yeas—162. Nays—18.

Henry A. Wise, excused.

So the second resolution was adopted.

The Speaker announced that the warrant issued for the arrest of R. M. Whitney had been served, and that that individual was now in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, waiting the further pleasure of the House.

Mr. Howard withdrew his motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution directing R. M. Whitney to be brought to the bar of the House had been adopted.

Mr. Callhoun, of Kentucky, offered the following resolution; which was agreed to.

Resolved, That Reuben M. Whitney, now in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, be brought to the bar of this House to answer for an alleged contempt of the House, in premeditated refusal to appear, and give evidence as a witness on a summons duly issued by a select committee, acting by the authority of the House under a resolution of the 17th of January last, and in the matter of a letter, expressing said refusal, addressed by the said Reuben M. Whitney to the committee, and by the committee referred to the House; and that he be forthwith furnished with a copy of the report of said committee, and of the letter aforesaid.

On motion of Mr. Hannegan,

The House adjourned.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, FEB. 24, 1837.

TO OUR FRIENDS.

The articles in this number are long, but we hope our friends will not find them tedious. They are just such articles as can neither be omitted nor curtailed. The meeting at Harrisburg was full of interest, and doubtless full of good fruits. Anti-Slavery has grown rapidly in Massachusetts. The permission given to hold the meeting one evening in the Hall of Representatives, indicates a wonderful change in public sentiment within a year. Indeed, the progress of our principles every where throughout the North is surprising. The evidences of this are to be found in the multiplying societies, increased audiences, frequent meetings of our friends. We have no room to record even a very small part of what is doing in the field of labor. Want of room for several numbers back has compelled us to curtail our usual quantity of anti-slavery intelligence.

We have devoted much space to our account of Congressional proceedings. We could not do otherwise. They are especially interesting. No man should be ignorant of them.

OUTRAGE ON MR. RANKIN.

We have on our file an accurate account of the outrage committed on this indefatigable lecturer, at Dayton. But want of room has unfortunately crowded this out, as well as several other interesting articles. They shall appear in our next.

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF ACT OF CONGRESS IN RELATION TO FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The following remarks were intended for a note (No. 8.) to the Report of a Committee of the Ohio Senate. It being too long for a Note, it is thrown into the place it now occupies as a brief argument on the subject matter of it.

We beg leave here to differ with the Committee. We believe, the act, so far from being "made in pursuance of the Constitution" of the U. S. is unauthorized by any part of that instrument. We shall, very briefly, give some reasons in support of this opinion.

The mischief to be prevented was, *dissension* between the Slave states and the free, occasioned by the escaping of slaves from the former, and then taking refuge in the latter, where by virtue of the fundamental principles of their political institutions, they would at once become free. The remedy was, to curtail the sovereignty of the free states (for to them alone it has any practical application) so that their political institutions should not operate on all within their acknowledged limits—that they should have no effect whatever on the claims of the Southern master to his slave, although both of them should be found within the undisputed bounds of their jurisdiction. With this view, the first branch of the constitutional provision declares, that "no person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from service or labor."—Thus, was the action of the free states, as *bodies politic*, respectively guarded against.

But there was another difficulty to be obviated. Individuals in the free states, in their hatred of slavery and sympathy with the slave escaping from his bonds, might be led of tentimes to conceal him, or to refuse to deliver him up to his master. In this case, the master would be without redress; for, as the laws of the free states recognize no property in the body of a man, a suit to recover his body could not therefore be sustained against an individual detaining it. To guard against this, the latter clause of the provision before cited, declares, that the slave "shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such [his] service or labor is due."—The word "claim" is used here to confer on the slave holder a *right of action* for the recovery of a species of property, where no such right existed by the laws of the free states. This right of action in the Courts of the State, or of the United States, secured from disturbance of any kind, by the interdiction forbidding the particular states to interfere with it in any way in their corporate capacity, puts it as completely in the power of the slave holder to recover his property in slaves as it does in any other thing. It was equal to any power possessed by the citizens of the free States for the recovery of any species of their property, which might be withheld from them—it was all that could in reason be asked—it was all that was thought necessary to confer.

But it may be said, this interpretation provides no redress for the slaveholder, in case the slave himself disputes his authority, and refuses to submit to his control. The objection is grounded in truth—it exists as it presents itself—yet it does not in the least invalidate our construction of the article in question. The Constitution never intended to make provision for such a case. It leaves the individual master in the free states as it leaves him at home—to enforce obedience from his slaves in the best way he can. It never intended to use the physical power of the general government, or of the free states, nor to enjoin it on the individual citizens of the latter to use their physical power, to strike down the slave and deliver him over in chains, to the passive and waiting master. No: such an insult to the spirit of liberty

sympathizing with the enslaved every where, was not offered by our Washingtons, our Rubens, our Franklins and our Jeffersons. The slaveholder with his refractory slave in the free states was left, as he is left with his refractory slave on his own plantation—to subdue him as he best can. Ought he to look for any aid in such work from the public authorities, or from the individual citizens of the free states, which he cannot demand of right in the slave states? Surely not.

The foregoing statement seems to us, from its clearness, to render much additional argument unnecessary—and fully to prepare us for the question:—Is the Act of Congress providing for the capture and delivery within the free states, of "persons [slaves] escaping from their masters," constitutional? We answer, clearly not—and for these reasons—

1. Because, the power to legislate on this subject is not "delegated to the United States by the Constitution." "It is therefore reserved to the states or to the People."

2. Because among the powers of Congress enumerated in the Constitution, there is not one to be found, which explicitly authorizes that body to legislate in any way, for the extinction or confirmation of slavery in the States. Popular opinion, with almost unbroken concurrence, has been formed consistently with this negation of authority. But who can deny, that an act vesting in certain persons the right to apprehend, and in others the right to adjudge to endless bondage those who might otherwise be free, is an act aiding directly in the confirmation of Slavery? No one. It cannot be denied.

3. Because the power to legislate in the case supposed, is "not prohibited by it [the Constitution of the U. S.] to the [free] states" in their individual character as bodies politic. It is therefore, "reserved to the states respectively or to the people." At all events, it is not in Congress.

4. Because the power to legislate in the case supposed, is one neither necessary nor proper for carrying into execution any other powers, vested by the constitution in the government of the U. S. or any department or officer thereof.

[Constitution of the U. S. Sec. 8, Art. 1.] The primary, organic legislation embodied in the constitution effected every thing that it was expedient to accomplish in relation to this matter.

The reasons given above, drawn strictly from the constitution, satisfy our minds that the Act of Congress, referred to by the committee of the Senate, has no basis whatever for its authority in that instrument, but that it is unconstitutional and void.

Besides the reasons already given, to prove the unconstitutionality of the act in question, there are others which earnestly admonish the people of the free states, to insist on the most rigid construction of the power of Congress not only to pass any such laws to operate within the states—but of the law itself, should it be conceded that Congress has the power rightfully to pass it. We will not enlarge on these reasons—but merely hint at them.

1. Such a power in Congress might put in jeopardy the principles asserted in the Constitutional forms of the free states as the landmarks of Liberty, and with a special view to keep alive its spirit. The South, by its unanimity and its menaces, has contrived heretofore, to wield the political power of the Union. They have either intimidated or seduced into their measures, a sufficient number of the free-state members of Congress to carry whatever they wished in that body. This has been done with their present inferiority of numbers. Let Texas be added to them,—Texas, large enough in its most circumscribed limits, to make four states, each larger than the State of Ohio,—let a large portion of our northern population be persuaded to remove thence, and become slave holders—let there be eight more slave holding Senators in Congress, and a proportionate Representation, and the political liberty of white men will then be held as the personal liberty of colored men is now, at the mere mercy of our slave holding neighbors.

If Congress have the power to enact such a law as the one we have been considering, they have also the power to repeal or amend it. They may then, instigated by the South, have their legally commissioned slave catchers stationed in every township of the free states—they may have their slave holding judges presiding in their slave condemning courts in every county, exhibiting daily the practices of slavery contemptuously exulting over the overthrown principles of Liberty. See how successfully already one part of the process of their overthrow has been commenced and prosecuted. The House of Representatives in Congress refused last year to read the petitions of their constituents respectfully praying that the disgrace of slavery might be removed from the capital of our country. In addition to this, they have only the other day, refused to hear petitions from the people praying against the recognition of the Independence of Texas, on no other ground than, that they contained "allusions" to the subject of slavery.

Such a law is in derogation of the sovereignty of those states whose institutions forbid slavery—and tends to bring it into dishonor. What more contemptuous infringements can there be on the sovereignty of a state which has declared that slavery in no guise, under no pretext, shall exist within her limits, than for another power to enforce a law declaring that slavery shall in a certain form exist within them? The subjugation of sovereignties intended for the support of Liberty to such as were fashioned for the support of slavery, was a concession of the friends of the former to the slave holders that has been unblessed up to this moment. This was done by conferring on the slave states a supremacy within the limits and jurisdiction of the free states, even to the putting aside—to the entire nullification—of every principle of liberty asserted in the constitutions of the latter. For what is the public hunting of men—their recapture—the loading of them with chains, and the consignment of them to slavery, within the undisputed jurisdictional limits of a free state, less than the virtual abrogation of our CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY and the setting up in its stead a foreign CONSTITUTION OF SLAVERY? It was concession enough, not to say degradation enough, we should think, to satisfy the advocates of slavery among us, that the free states should be restrained in a particular class of cases from the exercise of their sovereignty in favor of HUMAN LIBERTY. Should a claim be set up by another power to compel them to a course of action countervailing the most sacred principles of their own organic institutions—surely, every one who has a proper regard for the existence of liberty among us, ought to be satisfied with no other than the strongest ground on which to support such a claim. We venture the opinion, that the great principles of liberty as they are embodied in the constitutions of the free states, have been more shorn of their strength—have lost more of their respect in the popular mind, from the everlasting rummage of the land for escaping slaves than from any other cause whatever. How indeed, could it be otherwise, when we see daily, men, whose title to liberty we have declared to the world is inalienable, struck down, loaded with chains, and driven through the state from one extremity of it to the other, to be steeped in slavery to the lips; and this too, without crime on their part—through the instrumentality of officers appointed by our own laws, executing the commands of foreign sovereignties, hostile (so far as this matter is concerned) to our own, but in these very acts demonstrating their superiority? It is not we say then, much to be wondered at, that, subjected as the free states have been to the action of such influences, for nearly half a century, they should have exhibited, under the severe tests of the last two years, woful degeneracy from their early republican principles, and a temper prepared to aid the slaveholders of the South in any act of tyranny to which their commands might urge them.

THE CINCINNATI REPUBLICAN—WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

We promised last week to furnish the editor of the Cincinnati Republican with some proofs of the working of the Emancipation Act in the West Indies. We now proceed to redeem our pledge—first, by furnishing testimony of the state of things there a short time previous to the Act above referred to, and whilst the Earl of Mulgrave was Governor of Jamaica.

Extract from the speech of the Earl of Mulgrave delivered in London, August 1, 1834.—"I must however be permitted to observe, that notwithstanding all that has been said by the supporters of slavery, as to the improved condition of the slaves under what was called the ameliorated system, I am bound to declare, that up to the passing of the Bill, the condition of slavery was revolting to the sight, and harrowing to the feelings, tending alike to corrupt the nature of the owner, and degrade the character of his human chattels; and such, in spite of humane regulations on the part of many influential individuals, were the abuses practised, that any partial enactment which the legislature of this country (England) might have devised, would have been wholly inadequate to eradicate the evils arising inevitably from the very nature of the system. Take this then, as the deliberately formed, but the uncompromising opinion of a patient enquirer, an anxious observer, an impartial eye witness, that slavery is incapable of any really beneficial amelioration. * * *

As I said before, but cannot repeat more emphatically than I think it, the state of slavery was incapable of improvement. It admitted of no remedy short of extinction. In spite of humane intentions—of periodical interference on the part of the superior authorities, I tell you not only, but I told the Legislature of Jamaica, as the result of my own experience, that, the inseparable concomitant of slavery was flagrant abuse of power."

A correspondent of the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser—a paper violently opposed to abolitionism—writing from the West Indies, says:

"In Barbadoes, the blacks are, yet, apprentices; but in that small and populous island, the number of clergy is large, and these are under the watchful eye of the bishop, who has directed much of his attention to the black population. The consequence is, that the apprentices are quiet and willing to labor, but instead of any depreciation of property, in consequence of the new system, a gentleman who left Barbadoes in January, (1836,) after a residence of some months, assured me that real estate had advanced twenty-five per cent. In Jamaica, which has immense quantities of unappropriated land, to which a discontented negro can escape and get a living almost without labor, from the spontaneous productions of a fertile soil—in which the negroes have received comparatively little religious instruction—the system does not work so well. But if we take the report of the Governor of that Island, [Lord Sligo,] it works better than the planters are disposed to allow. But even its failures are far from being attributable to the negroes themselves—the overseers and book-keepers have shown an insatiable spirit, and sought rather to irritate than conciliate the negroes; and instead of endeavoring to farther, have rather sought to embarrass the efforts of the Government. I speak of what I understand from various sources, to be the general state of things in that island."

From the Boston Recorder, (a violent anti-abolition paper.)

"In the beginning of 1835, Mr. John Innes of Edinburgh visited the West Indies, to see with his own eyes how emancipation worked. After speaking of Antigua, to which we will attend presently, the account says, 'In some of the islands Mr. Innes found the apprenticeship working well. In St. Kitts, planters who had anticipated difficulty in taking off their crops, admit they have experienced none, and that the work of the ensuing crop is advanced further than usual. Even the termination of the apprenticeship is now looked forward to with diminished apprehension, and there are persons of property in the Island desirous of increasing their stock in land.'"

Nearly eighteen months after the time, (1st of August, 1834,) when the Emancipation Act went into operation, a gentleman formerly of Vermont, now a merchant in Barbadoes, and whose character is vouched for by Mr. Leavitt, of the New York Evangelist, speaks thus of the state of things in that Island.

"As to the effects of emancipation on the public safety, they now laugh at the idea of fear. * * * I could lie down to sleep there [Bridgetown the capital] out of doors, as quietly as in any place in New England." Again, "Many who opposed the abolition of slavery, step by step to the last, are now in favor of it. They say it has been a good thing for the island. All their fears in regard to evil consequences have been disappointed. * * * 'There is no general complaint of the want of laborers.' [Although the apprenticeship system was adopted here, vast numbers of slaves have been emancipated since its adoption.] The blacks will work for pay on their own day and extra hours." Again, "as to the fear that abolishing slavery will lead to amalgamation, it operates precisely the other way—to separate the two races. Amalgamation has had its full run there under the reign of slavery." Again, "The effect of abolition on the financial condition of the country is quite remarkable; real estate is rising, for the last six months has risen rapidly, in many instances has risen one-third in a year." Again, "The consumption of dry goods has also wonderfully increased. The negroes now dress like other people." Again, "The imports generally are doubled. A very great increase has taken place in the importation of American productions. The blacks begin to live like human beings. The importations were never so great as they were the last year. [Recollect the man is a merchant in Barbadoes.]

"The change of feeling on the subject of abolition is entire. . . . In short, one only needs to see the West Indies to be convinced of the safety and utility of abolishing slavery."

The following is from the Bahama Argus, of July 30th, 1836.

"The approach of the second anniversary of the 1st of August, 1834, that day on which the parliament of the British empire proclaimed freedom to the world, the effects of which declaration was immediate in the British colonies, calls for expressions of gratitude to the author of all good, who in His own appointed time and manner has, by His humble instrumentality, accomplished a happy and quiet escape from a system of slavery, which appeared interminable without revolution and bloodshed, devastation or abandonment of the colonies. Yet never was society more tranquil and well disposed, or the law more respected than at the present time. Landed property has risen in value; the indisputable result of the return of public confidence and the prospects of colonial prosperity."

"In New Providence the demand for houses has been greater than for many years past, and is still likely to increase; there is full employment for all the mechanics of the country; laborers are in demand, and are likely to continue so, while cases of vagrancy are very rare."

"That a great social change, such as the abolition of slavery in the colonies could have been accomplished without cases of temporary inconvenience to some, and of hardship and loss to others would have been impossible; but this inconvenience is not so much as was anticipated, nor the cases of hardship and loss so oppressive as were expected. On

the contrary, many persons have extricated themselves from embarrasments which hung like a mill-stone round their necks, apparently condemning them as slaves to their creditors for the rest of their lives, but from which they are now happily and unexpectedly relieved. The emancipation act has thus conferred a double benefit by emancipating in many cases the masters as well as the slaves. With the abolition of slavery, the dread of insurrection, loss of life and property has vanished; and whatever individuals may now possess, they feel secure of holding and transmitting without those misgivings which are inseparable from times of slavery. The measure of abolition is now viewed with satisfaction and pleasure, by many who were opposed to its adoption from the mere apprehension of its producing similar scenes and misery as were witnessed at St. Domingo; but the measure attempted there was one of passion, proceeding from a revolutionary faction, while in the British colonies it is one of reason, deliberately adopted by the united councils of the empire."

The Argus, of August 3rd, also states, as follows:—
The 1st of August has again arrived and passed over in a manner which cannot but afford every satisfaction to those interested in the welfare of this colony, or in the final and complete success of the great measure of emancipation.

We have not room to insert the multitudinous testimony of a similar kind, and must conclude with that of Lord Sligo, late Governor of Jamaica. On the 15th of last June on proposing the "House of Assembly" of Jamaica, he says,

"The perfect tranquillity which now prevails in this Island, and the abundant proof I have of the increasing desire of the negroes in most places to work for hire [during the hours allotted to the apprentices—Ed. Philanth.] gives me a confident expectation that my anticipations in this respect [as to an increased crop] will not be disappointed."

To an Address of the Special Magistrates of Surry and Middlesex, Lord Sligo says—

"The complete success which has attended the working of that law [the emancipation law] must be to you as it has been to me, a source of the sincerest gratification."

To a similar Address of the Special Magistrates of Cornwall, in which they had said—

"Anarchy and ruin were predicted by the opponents of the benevolent measure. But, two years have now elapsed, and what is the result? By the mild administration of your Excellency's government, peace and order every where prevail; the laws are respected; religion is gradually extending its hallowed influence among all classes of society, and education holds out the prospect of more enlightened generations in future."—The Governor then replied—

"That its success has far exceeded all expectation either here or at home, is abundantly proved by the recent greatly increased extent of cultivation, by the numerous purchasers of property lately made for residents, and by the influx of capital from the mother country, as evinced by the formation of a Bank," &c., &c.

Thus much for the actual working of the apprentices system, about which Mr. Ramsay has published such highly wrought accounts. We ask Mr. Ramsay, if justice to his readers, to say nothing of magnanimity to those who have been the objects of his unmerited abuse, does not require of him either to republish the above proofs, or to show that they are not worthy of belief. Next week, we propose submitting some proofs of the working of unconditional emancipation in two of the immediate islands.

EDITORIAL ACCURACY.

A short time since, one of our exchange papers in Kentucky spoke of our editorial department in terms as unjust as they were abusive. The coarseness of the language employed forbade any reply, as it indicated an incorrigibility, on which we were sure our labor at correction would be lost. Since then, the same paper has published an incorrect and exaggerated account of a mobocratic invasion of the freedom of speech during the last month, at Dayton in this State. It is published too as being derived from the Philanthropist—although it widely departs from the account we gave of that transaction. Now we profess to state facts—when on our own authority—accurately and without any exaggeration. For others to set them forth inaccurately—greatly exaggerated—whether from carelessness or any other cause, is doing us and the cause of truth an injury for which no sufficient apology can be found.

INCREDULITY AND CREDULITY.

The slavery press of this country listen with no patience to any thing said about the cruelties of southern slavery—it pronounces nearly all of it as incredible—yet, they publish such things as the following without once doubting that they are true. It is taken from the Cincinnati Republican.

Russian Prisoners.—The discipline of the Russian penitentiaries is represented in a letter published in a French paper, the Messenger, as of the most horrible description. Other systems, the Austrian for example, may kill the body; this kills the soul. The political prisoners are thrust into dungeons where light never penetrates and where they have scarcely room to move. They are whipped at fixed intervals. Out of ten persons, three are reckoned to die from this harsh treatment, and seven turn mad. On leaving prison, some are no more able to recognise their nearest relations. Several Polish refugees and German students have been made idiots by this treatment.

COMMUNICATIONS.

We commend the following sensible remarks addressed to the Friends by one of their own body, not only to them, but to the careful perusal of all others of our readers.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS—ABOLITION—COLONIZATION.

It is well known that the society of Friends has long and zealously plead, the cause of the oppressed African. This society early took a decided stand in favor of the immediate, total and unconditional emancipation of the negro from the galling yoke of slavery. The friends early saw the total inconsistency of slavery, with the purity, the philanthropy and the disinterested nature of the Christian religion. They saw the utter incompatibility of that system which reduces one part of the human family to the condition of brutes, and exalts another part to the prerogatives of Deity, with that Divine religion which teaches us to regard every man as our brother, and commands us, that "All things whatsoever we would that men should do unto us, we should do the same unto them." They determined, like faithful followers of the Divine author of this holy religion, to expiate the horrid monster in their community. They did not stop to calculate consequences, in an economical or political point of view; they did not stop to enquire whether the slaves thus to be liberated had better be kept in a state of degrading servitude, (the direct tendency of which is to cripple and destroy the powers of the mind, and to blunt every feeling of moral sensibility,) until they were better prepared for freedom. They, perhaps, never thought of the great danger there might be, that the poor slaves who had been ground down and oppressed all their lives, would be so exasperated at their former masters for giving them the inestimable blessing of liberty, as to turn round and cut their throats!! It seems they never thought of the great difficul-

ty that would arise, from having persons with dark skins and curly hair enjoying the rights of freemen among those, who have the distinguishing marks of a pale complexion and straight hair. They did not dream of the sin-pleading project of sending them to Liberia as the condition of their emancipation. It was left for wiser heads to contrive the famous scheme of lulling the conscientious scruples of those who might begin to see and to deplore the existence of slavery, into a state of ease and carnal security, by the convenient doctrine, that whatever sin there may be in slavery, it belongs to our ancestors and not unto us; and that we are not bound to undo the heavy burdens, that have been laid upon the backs of our brethren by our forefathers, unless we can have them expatriated to a foreign land, and thus clear our country of a set of beings, who, we say, are too degraded to enjoy the privileges of freemen, and too improvident to earn a living in a land of civilization and Christianity;—and so we will turn them off to a land of barbarism and heathenism, to make their way, as they can, among a set of savages, who will probably look upon the new comers in no very favorable point of view;—considering them as intruders, they may produce a conflict that may very possibly end in the extermination of one party or the other. It was reserved for the great geniuses of modern times to discover, that the only practicable method of atoning to the descendants of Africa for the immense wrongs which we have heaped upon them for many generations, is now to banish them from the land of their nativity, a land that they have rescued from a wilderness state by the sweat of their brows, to a country as foreign, and as strange, and almost as unnatural to them, as this country was to their ancestors. To be sure, the pretension is, to colonize them with their consent; but I boldly assert that this pretension is an insult to common sense and common honesty! Look at the situation of the poor creatures when the subject is submitted to them for their choice! And what is that choice? A degraded and down-trodden situation on the part of the freeman, and hopeless, cruel, interminable bondage on the part of the slave, or, transportation to—he knows not where,—to bondage—he knows not what!

No doubt many of them view the dire alternative with as much horror as would an innocent individual, who, lying under sentence of perpetual imprisonment, should have the offer of commuting his punishment by immediate death! No doubt, there are those in the world who would prefer the latter! and perhaps the actors in the scene might compliment themselves on account of their humanity, in giving the unfortunate creature a speedy passport from the odious sufferings to which he was exposed, without much considering, whether or not he was prepared for another state of existence. And should they be told that it was an act of evil injustice, they might reply in the language of our humane colonization, "he had his choice!! he was hanged with his own consent!!"

But to return to the society of friends. They became convinced that slaveholding was a sin, and determined to abandon it; and did abandon it; and in many cases, at a great sacrifice. In places where the laws were unfavorable to emancipation, they had to adopt a policy which has proved very expensive; and many thousands of dollars have been devoted to the support of their benevolent designs. They not only cleared their own skirts of the foul blot, but they were forward to remonstrate with their fellow citizens, and the legislatures in behalf of this deeply injured people.

Their example, and the faithfulness with which they raised their voice, both individually and collectively, against this crying evil, has done more to advance the cause of universal emancipation, than any one thing; perhaps more than all other means put together. The doctrine that it was a great evil to hold our brother as a slave, spread far and wide; and I verily believe, that had not the fatal Colonization scheme put a check to the progress of light and truth, and diverted the freemen of America from looking farther, for a remedy that might have been efficacious, the foul disease would have been ere this time nearly if not quite eradicated from these United States. Thousands, who thought of nothing but the absolute necessity of unconditional emancipation, have been persuaded by the specious pretences of the expatriation scheme, into a belief, that by it we could get clear of the evil of Slavery, more in accordance with our prejudices than to turn the colored population loose among us, and be constantly annoyed with the sight of the dark skinned, curly headed things enjoying the same liberty with ourselves. And when once they came to this conclusion, it was very easy to go a little farther, and say it was altogether out of the question to liberate them without Colonization somewhere. Thus this great scheme had a direct tendency to strengthen the prejudice against the poor African, which was already great, and in which it had its origin. This prejudice may be truly said to be both the cause and effect of the Colonization plan. Hence the general apathy that prevails to a great extent among those who were once warm advocates for the oppressed. And hence in a great measure that manifest indifference and declension of zeal on this subject so manifest in many of the friends. I do not wish to be understood as accusing the society, as a body, of a retrograde movement in regard to this great question; I believe it is to a great extent yet sound to the core. Of this we have a proof in the noble testimony borne by the late yearly meeting of Indiana in its epistle to its members, accompanied by one from their brethren of the yearly meeting of London on the same subject. They prove beyond controversy, that these two yearly meetings are what they have long professed to be; not gradualists, nor colonizationists, but thorough-going abolitionists.

But notwithstanding this, I know from a personal acquaintance with many members of this society, that the paralyzing influence of colonization principle has so darkened the mental vision of some of them who once saw clearly, that they are pulling down with both hands that which has cost the body so much labor and treasure to build up; while others have had their minds so confused by it that they have never obtained correct perceptions of this subject.

Adopting the opinions, and objections that are constantly urged by colonizationists against the principles of the abolitionists, they plead the great difficulty and danger to be apprehended, both to the white and colored population, if emancipation should take place without colonization; they admit slavery to be a great evil, and that it ought to be abolished; but they would have a choice in the subjects having a country to themselves; it would never do, they think to turn them loose and give them equal privileges with ourselves, they would become saucy and troublesome, and would not be able to maintain themselves; forgetting that we have no more right to dictate to them the proper place of their abode, than they to us; and that persons, who are not qualified for freedom in the midst of a civilized population, would be less qualified to maintain themselves in any kind of good order when herded together in a foreign and barbarous land. Some have gone so far as to assert that negroes would not bear good treatment; that they must be kept under, or they would soon get above white people; not suspecting all the time that it was their own foolish notions of the superiority of a white skin, that could not brook the idea of a dark skinned brother presuming to act in that independent manner which is common, and altogether inoffensive among white men. I have no desire to hurt the feelings of a single member of the society of friends; but I must confess that when I hear them joining in the hue and cry against the dissemination of their own principles; principles which they have heretofore so nobly supported, I am astonished and grieved! And at the same time I cannot but pity them as the

slaves of prejudice and dupes of ignorance and the deleterious influence of the fatal colonization principles.

Some are alarmed at the great excitement that has been raised on the subject, and the conflict that is going on between the monster slavery, with colonization at his back, and the genius of universal emancipation. I would ask these if they believe that Woolman, Benezet and their faithful cotemporaries would have shrunk from a fearless maintenance of their views, or have said "hold still,—do not meddle with this exciting subject," if their principles had so far prevailed in their own time as to alarm the slaveholders and their sycophants, so as to have produced just such a state of excitement, as now exists? Or would they not rather have considered it as an evidence of the advancement, and a presage of the final success of the cause; and an encouragement to renewed exertion? The monster will become exasperated whenever his prey is likely to be wrested from his voracious jaws. It cannot be reasonably calculated, that a great change can be wrought in the state of the nation without excitement; and he who would wish to stifle the free circulation and discussion of the principles of freedom, from a fear of the resentment of the interested and selfish, had better make no pretensions to being the friend of the oppressed. It certainly does not become the followers of the early Quakers to relax their zeal in promoting truth, because of persecution, or because the enemy will rage when his kingdom is invaded by a moral force, that threatens its dissolution.

As some of the Friends have adopted the principle of colonization in opposition to that of immediate emancipation, I must contend that they have departed from the settled doctrine of the society on this subject; for this society undoubtedly has been and yet is (as a body) an anti-slavery society to all intents and purposes. This I consider a sufficient reason for their not joining in membership with other societies for the promotion of the same causes. But I would exhort them to be true to their own principles, and to continue fearlessly to exert that moral influence which has hitherto been so successful in "undoing the heavy burdens and in letting the oppressed go free."

In order to illustrate my views, and more fully to show, that the colonization plan has greatly supported the system of slavery, I would propose a few queries, the answer to which, if given understandingly and honestly, will I think place the matter beyond controversy.

1st, Had the society of Friends become a colonization society instead of an anti-slavery society, if it is, had they determined to endeavor to rid themselves of slavery by colonizing the slaves as fast as their masters were willing to liberate them, and they would consent to go; would they not have been a slave-holding society to this day?

2d, Is there any reason to suppose that this scheme would ever have purified the society of the foul uncleanness?

3d, Had all other societies of Christians become anti-slavery societies at the same time, and to the same extent as the Friends, would not the whole church have been censored of this pollution?

4th, Would there not be a moral influence in the Christian church, were that influence rightly directed, sufficient to banish slavery from this land of boasted liberty?

5th, Is there not ample evidence that the colonization scheme has greatly retarded the progress of the principles of unconditional emancipation, in the fact, that the friends of the former oppose the latter with the most decided hostility? Since then it is evident that abolitionism is, the only practicable remedy for the evil of slavery, and that colonization has been, and yet is, a fruitful source of strength and durability to it, why should any who wish it to be removed, continue to give their support to principles which are diametrically opposed to the great object they profess to have in view? No matter whether these principles are carried out to the full extent of colonizing on the coast of Africa, or in some unoccupied territory on this continent, or whether they only show themselves in the simple expressions, "I don't want the colored people for neighbors,—they ought to be free, but they ought to have a country to themselves;" all result in the same thing, and that is, to justify the continuance of slavery until that shall take place which is physically impossible; or which if practicable, would be unjust and arbitrary in the highest degree;—very little if any better,—nay, probably worse than the present abominable system of oppression.

And especially, how can a member of the society of Friends thus oppose himself to those principles which they have proved to be effective, and range himself in the ranks of those who plead for the toleration of slavery, until the subjects shall be removed from amongst us? This is to justify the present and future existence of slavery until a complete extirpation shall take place: and as I have no hesitation in saying that this theory will never be accomplished, slavery, according to this theory, is justifiable now and forever. What a pity that the society of Friends had not discernment enough to have discovered this famous scheme, and thus have secured to themselves a perpetuity of slave labour, without feeling the compunctious visitings of a guilty conscience.

But after all, I am not an enemy to colonization, if it be based upon correct principles. Raise the colored people from the condition of brutes, to that of men,—give them free and equal privileges, in the scale of beings; and then, if after a full investigation, and complete information, any of them should incline to emigrate to the land of their forefathers, I am very willing that they should be assisted. But short of this free and understanding choice, any scheme of colonization must be pronounced by all intelligent and disinterested men, a work of unrighteousness; for all men have an undoubted right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in that country where God gave them birth.

PHILO PATRIA.

Mr. Editors.—A well-bred Frenchman, during the lifetime of Bonaparte, heard a coffee-house dandy speaking in the most vulgarly abusive terms of him. When the dandy had finished, he stepped up to him, and said courteously yet seriously in his broken English,—"My good sir, you make de Emperor very unhappy, very sorry—he be very much distress when he hear you have one so very bad opinion of him." Will not Mr. Adams "be very much distressed," when he hears that Mr. Ramsay of the Republican has "one so very bad opinion of him?"

I IN THE CORNER.

"THERE IS NO RESPECT OF PERSONS WITH HIM."

Massillon, February, 1837.

I give the following fact on the authority of a Christian lady, who was well acquainted with the case.

In the year 1833, this place suffered a visitation of the small pox. A merchant of this town was attacked with the disease. During his sickness his family was assisted by an English girl named Mary, and a colored young man named Archibald. Mary was proof against the disease, having had it in her infancy, but Archibald was attacked and died with it. When he became sick, he was removed to a loft in the merchant's warehouse, where he was attended for a time by a colored man employed for that purpose. The attendant finally became apprehensive for his own safety and forsook his post, and it was impossible to get another to take his place.

In this extremity, Mary who was a member of the same church with Archibald, and ignorant of the impropriety of showing pity to a colored person, volunteered to do the self-denying offices for the dying man, that were necessary for his comfort, and administered medicine and drink. What

think you was the reward that Mary realized for this benevolent act? "Why a gold medal, I suppose, with the thanks of the town council," you will say. No; you must remember that the scene lies in the United States, where color is every thing. No, she got no medal, no thanks, but she got a deal of Christian love. "Twenty years" said a Christian sister to her "will not efface the stain."

A church meeting was called to pass "the highest ecclesiastical censures." The clamor became so great at this outrage, that the minister took his hat and left the house.

In the sequel, the story was circulated that Mary and Archibald were engaged, and their marriage prevented only by his death!

Fear not Mary. The sneer of the heartless continues but a moment, but the approbation of the Judge, "inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me," is the prologue to an endless reward.

H. L.

PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE IN HARRISON COUNTY.

Bloomfield, Feb. 4th, 1837.

MEANS EDITORS.
Enclosed you have the Preamble and Constitution of an Anti-Slavery Society, formed in Greene Township, Harrison county, on Dec. 26th, 1836. They were published in the "Harrison County Organ," but I have been unable to procure said paper. The following is an account of its proceedings:—as it appears you have had no information of its organization or at least did not publish them, they were ordered by the Society to be published in the Philanthropist.

Refd. Presbyterian Church, Greene, Harrison co., Dec. 26, 1836. A meeting having been called for the purpose of discussing the subject of Slavery, in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, was opened with prayer by the Rev. Wm. Sloane, after which Mr. W. Boyd was called to the Chair, and Hugh Stevenson appointed Secretary. After an appropriate address by Wm. Sloane on the Sinfulness of Slavery, the following resolution was presented by Mr. I. S. Wallace, and after some discussion was adopted.

"Resolved, That Slavery as it exists in the United States, is a sin, in which all the citizens thereof, are involved; and that all who see and acknowledge its evils, should co-operate in some efficient plan for its immediate, and entire removal."

The following document was then presented by Mr. Hugh Stevenson, and on motion was adopted as the sentiments of the meeting. [Preamble and Constitution next week.]

On motion, those having signed the above document formed themselves into an Anti-Slavery Society, and the following Constitution was adopted.

The following persons were then chosen as officers for the ensuing year: Mr. James Kirk, President—John Day, Vice President—Jno. L. W. Ferrelle, Sec. and Rev. Wm. Sloane, Henry Ferguson and Hugh Stevenson, Managers.

On motion, it was resolved, that a copy of the proceedings of the meeting be forwarded to the Editor Harrison Telegraph, Cazid Sentinel, and the Philanthropist for publication.

On motion, the Society adjourned to meet in the Baptist church on 10th January 1837, at 5 o'clock P. M.

WM. BOYD, President.

HUGH STEVENSON, Sec'y.
On the 10th they convened agreeably to adjournment, and after an address by the Rev. John Walker, the annexed resolutions, by Rev. Wm. Sloane, were adopted, article by article:—

1. "Resolved, That the cause of universal Emancipation is the cause of Him who came to proclaim liberty to the captives." 2d, That this cause must eventually succeed; and therefore, Abolitionists should never relax their efforts till they have obtained their demand, viz. the emancipation of every slave under heaven: 3d, The annual, we might almost say daily, accessions which abolitionists receive to their numbers, should stimulate us to increased energy of action. 4th, In consideration of the loss which Mr. Birney sustained from the Cincinnati gentry mob, the subscribers to the Philanthropist should commence the second year, with the 1st inst., without requiring the Nos. for the time of mobocratic anarchy." 5th, "That at our next meeting, a contribution be taken up, to purchase Anti-Slavery publications." 6th, That a subscription be entered into for the regular purchase of Anti-Slavery publications." 7th, That Slave-holders and pro-slavery men, in attempting to press the word of God into their service offer violence to their own conscience; else why prohibit the slave from learning to read." 8th, That there is no security for liberty to any, unless it be admitted that all men are born free and equal." On motion, the thanks of the meeting were tendered to Mr. Wallace, for his address. The Constitution was then read and it was added to the Society. Mr. Wallace presented the following, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That professing Christians, who see and acknowledge Slavery to be a sin, and yet plead for its continuance, act, in consistency with the principles of our holy religion, weaken the efforts of the friends of liberty and righteousness, encourage the prevalence of sin and oppression, and support a system subversive of the laws of God and the rights of man."

Mr. Stevenson then offered the annexed resolution, which caused considerable discussion but was finally adopted without a dissenting voice on the part of the Society:

"Resolved, That it is evident from Scripture that the enslavement of men, who have forfeited their right to liberty, is a sin of the greatest magnitude—that it is expressly condemned both as a whole and its several parts in the word of God, and positively forbidden under the severest penalty—that in this sin the Government and people of the U. S. are involved; and therefore the minister of the Gospel who does not expose the sin of Slavery, and bear an explicit testimony against it, is unfaithful to his trust, and is dealing deceitfully with the souls of those who are under his care."

Society adjourned to meet next place, Jan. 23.

On the 23d, Society convened, prayer by Rev. W. Sloane,—read minutes—on motion, Preamble and Constitution of the Society were read, also the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The following resolution was then presented:

"Resolved, That the principles, plans and operations of the American Anti-Slavery Society merit the approbation, encouragement, and support of every friend of civil and religious liberty in our country."

On motion, those who were not members, were entitled to express their sentiments alternately, limitation of time 20 minutes. There being a delicacy in discussing the resolution, it was withdrawn, again it was resumed, when the house went into its discussion for some time, but the Society were compelled to postpone it, in consequence of pro-slavery mobocracy—and society adjourned to meet at the Reformed Presbyterian Church, at the call of the managers.

At said meeting some 300 or 400 were assembled—yet but one attempted to vindicate the slavery cause—and when a gentleman of the society rose to reply he was cried down—a second rose, but rose in vain, the mob could not be silenced, they were afraid of a defeat—therefore they took recourse to eggs, &c.—they were heard distinctly at the distance of 3 miles—no particular injury was sustained, excepting the destruction of some harness. The Secretary was collared and shook by a merchant before adjournment, but escaped uninjured. The Society repaired to their dwellings, leaving the mobocrats in the height of their glory—"The unjust knoweth no shame." (10 were added to our number.)

Refd. Presbyterian Church Feb. 2nd 1836.

Society met, and was opened with prayer by Mr. A. Work—read &c. &c. proceeded to the election of a treasury—Mr. Joseph Harvey was elected. On motion, Society resolved to meet on the 1st Thursday of each month for 6 months. Mr. Wallace's resolution was then made the order of the house—which was, after an address, adopted—3 members were added to our number, (we now number 54.) Society adjourned to the 1st Thursday of march R. P. C. 2 o'clock P. M.

In the above, you have a general account of our proceedings; if they contain any thing worthy of notice, select and publish. I would just observe at our last meeting every thing was done in decency and in order; there was evidently a band present to disorganize had there been an opportunity for an assault—but it was day light, and you know all oppressors are afraid of the light, and guilt makes men cowards. How we shall hereafter get along, time only will determine, as the mobocrats now proclaim, the next shall be our last meeting. Trusting in Him who is a shield and a buckler to all who rely on him, the Society is determined to go forward. That light may arise on those who sit in darkness, and that the blessing of the Lord may rest upon your labors is the desire of yours in the cause of Liberty.

JNO. L. M'FITRIDGE, Sec.

"When the New England men will not lend themselves to the fanatics, that they should permit their women to do it is matter of regret."—(N. Y.) Sunday Morning News.

I would say to the man who wrote the above, that the abolition women know that to them as well as to men, the law of 1806 is at once a rate of duty, and a bill of rights! If you would rebuke us, we say to you, to the law and the testimony—show us that you

speak according to this word, and we will receive your rebuke with humble thankfulness. Believing that God has spoken to us in common with men, in his word, we delight to acknowledge his authority and obey his will in all things.

When as wives we are commanded in his word, "wives obey your husbands," and as children, "children obey your parents, we do not consider these, nor the law, "undo the heavy burden and break every yoke," as the unmeaning commands of a weak, irresolute parent, but as the commands of the Omnipotent Jehovah, who speaks to us by his word, and who we learn from the same word, that obedience to all earthly authority must be an intelligent obedience in subordination to that which we owe to God, in order to be acceptable to him. If, therefore, earthly authority at any time comes in collision with the law of God, we say, "we ought to obey God rather than men." We know who hath said, "he that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." And we have been taught from the same high authority, that, "to his own master every man standeth or falleth."

The slave master to be sure sets up his authority as paramount to the authority of God. He uses every means within his power to enforce his commands upon his slave, and is scarcely less solicitous to withhold from him the word of God. We do not say that the slave master is that man of sin, that we read of, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped. But we put it to his own conscience to say, whether he wishes his slave to know any other God but himself. We hope no man, who is not a slave, will pretend to own "his women" in such a sense, as to decide for them whether they shall or shall not a petition for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. If any man should assume such authority, let "this woman" remember, who it is commands, "remember those that are in bonds as bound with them."

PRISCILLA.

By request we publish the following Prospectus. It occupies but little room, and many of our subscribers will feel interested in its object.—Eds. Phil.

PROSPECTUS OF THE WESTERN ACADEMICIAN, AND JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE.

EDITED BY JOHN W. PICKET.

THE WESTERN LITERARY INSTITUTE AND COLLEGE OF TEACHERS, at their sixth annual session, in 1836, held in Cincinnati, vested in their Executive Committee, power to establish an Educational and Scientific Journal, and to select an Editor, adequate to carry into effect their views, and to extend the usefulness of the work. The result of their deliberations is the present undertaking.

The publisher, in adding another to the existing periodicals, deems it unnecessary to expatiate upon their utility, when conducted with talent, and on liberal principles. Nor, does he wish to excite expectations which may not be realized. The spirit and ability which mark a work, must be the criteria by which an estimate of its value can be formed. If a high and manly character can be imparted to it, a doubt cannot exist of success. The publisher, hence, feels confident, that those who originated the undertaking, will exert their united talent to make the present work worthy of public support.

As the advance of sound education, literature, and science, is the object of this work, all matter of a sectarian or political nature will be irrelevant, and excluded. The benefit of the people, and those whose profession it is to instruct, precludes all interference in controversial subjects of this nature. On all others, rigid integrity and impartiality will govern. Neither birthplace nor geographical lines ought to be known or acknowledged in the republic of literature and science, which should have no bounds but those of truth and intellect. According to the spirit of these remarks, the work will be conducted.

All writers for the Academician are requested to affix their names to their articles.

CONDITIONS.

The WESTERN ACADEMICIAN will be published Monthly, commencing in March next, and each number will contain 30 medium octavo pages, at THREE DOLLARS A YEAR, payable *liberally* in advance.

All subscribers must communicate with the volume, and no subscription will be received for less than one year.

Professors in Colleges, Teachers, and Post Masters throughout the United States, are requested to act as agents, and every subscription will be given as a compensation.

All communications concerning the Western Academician shall be addressed, *post paid*, to

ELI TAYLOR,

Cincinnati, Ohio.

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Post Masters at: Royalton; Newark; Elyria \$3; Salem \$2; Pawlet; Pittsburg; Hardwick; Buffalo; Edinburg; Oberlin; Avoca; Utica; Georgetown.

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Onto Anti-Slavery Society.

Subscriptions and pledges at the first Anniversary.

GRANVILLE, April 27—28, 1836.

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ANTI-SLAVERY ANNIVERSARIES.

BOSTON VS. THE COMMONWEALTH—THE PEOPLE TRIUMPHANT.

Boston has brought fresh infamy upon itself, but the Commonwealth is true to the cause of liberty and the rights of her inhabitants. We congratulate all true-hearted friends of their country, all who espouse the side of the weak and defenceless in opposition to the powerful and oppressive, upon the result of the GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY STRUGGLE, alike in the city of Boston and in the Legislature of Massachusetts. The yeomanry of the country, by their representatives, have gloriously triumphed over the aristocracy of the city—they have rescued FREEDOM OF SPEECH from the clutch of DESPOTISM—they have spurned the GAG which Southern tyrants and Northerners traitors have sought to force into their mouths. As Gen. Washington gratefully exclaimed on one occasion—"God bless the yeomanry of Massachusetts!"

It was advertised in our last number, and in the daily papers of the city, that the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society would be held on the 25th inst. in Congress Hall, the Society having obtained leave from the Free Church stately worshipping therein, to occupy it on that occasion. But the proprietor and lessee of the building not only excluded the anti-slavery meeting, by direct mandate, but, *instantly*, turned the Free Church out of doors also! The name of the proprietor is Dr. EDWARD HUTCHINSON ROBBINS, and of the lessee, J. M. ALLEN. Applications had been previously made for several meeting-houses and halls, but in vain—not one could be obtained in Boston! Fortunately, a large STABLE being in possession of an abolitionist, the State Society was invited to hold its meeting in the spacious loft above. No sooner offered than accepted. At considerable expense and trouble, the Loft was quickly put in decent order, and Wednesday morning came. In the forenoon, a large and highly respectable audience promptly assembled, and a thrilling occasion it proved. In the afternoon, the Loft was crowded almost to crushing excess, and hundreds were compelled to go away, not an inch of room being left unoccupied. Not less than fifteen hundred or two thousand persons were present. In the evening, the REPRESENTATIVES' HALL having been granted by the House, an immense number of people attended, to listen to the able and powerful speeches of Orange Scott, Ellis Gray Loring, and Henry B. Stanton, (all the speakers being received with loud and often rapturous applause,) and to the affecting recital of Mr. Dresser's narrative.

There were some attempts to make a disturbance at the doors, but an overwhelming majority of those who were present were evidently on the Abolition side. "When Boston votes," said Mr. Stanton, "the Anti-Slavery Society goes into a STABLE. When the State votes, it goes into the STATE HOUSE!" And he truly remarked, that an avalanche rolling down from the top of tall Monadnock across Mason and Dixon's line into the Southern States, would not excite half the dismay that will be felt on the announcement of the fact, in that quarter, that the occupancy of the Hall of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts has been granted to the Anti-Slavery Society! On Thursday forenoon, another large and thrilling meeting was held in the stable loft—another in the afternoon, by the Ladies' Society, in the Artists' Gallery—and another, by the State Society, on Friday forenoon, at the Hall 46 Washington Street. [A full report of all the proceedings will be given in our next number.] We assure our brethren, every where, that these meetings, in interest and effect, have excelled all that have hitherto been held in this city. A prodigious impulse has been given to the Anti-Slavery cause, that will tell irresistibly upon the whole nation.

[By our Reporter.]

MASS. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Fifth Annual Meeting.

This meeting was notified to be held in Congress Hall; but the owner of the Hall, as we understand, informed the lessee, that, if he were going to admit the Abolitionists into the hall, he should leave the premises, the Free Church on Monday morning received notice that they must leave the hall. No other place, of suitable dimensions, could be obtained in the city; and therefore a room was fitted up in the loft of the stable of the Marlborough Hotel, (which is the property of the Free Church,) and the meetings during the day were held there. The House of Representatives, on application of the Society, voted the use of their Hall for the meeting in the evening.

The meeting on Wednesday morning, was opened with prayer, by Rev. Mr. Fitch of Boston; the President, Joseph Southwick, Esq. of Boston, in the chair. Mr. Garrison read the annual report, which, after some discussion, in which Rev. Messrs. May, Thatcher, and Bronson, took part, was accepted, and ordered to be printed and extensively circulated, as a document suited to the present crisis. A committee of arrangements, and a committee for the nomination of officers, were appointed; the Treasurer's report was read; some time was spent in conversation on the subject of funds, and the meeting adjourned.

Afternoon Session.

The meeting was called to order and the chair occupied by Francis Jackson, Esq. one of the Vice Presidents, and opened with prayer by Rev. Timothy Merritt, late co-editor of the New York Christian Advocate and Journal. The committee for nominating officers reported, and their report was postponed till to-morrow morning; the room being crowded to overflowing, by an audience eagerly waiting to hear the advocates of human rights plead the cause of the dumb. Rev. Mr. Grosvenor introduced a resolution, on the subject of immediate abolition, which he sustained with arguments unanswerable, drawn from the purest and best of all sources, the Bible.

Mr. Dresser followed, and gave an affecting account of the treatment he received from the Lynch Committee of Nashville; which was listened to with intense interest. He was followed by Rev. Mr. May, commenting upon this disgraceful and barbarous transaction.

Evening Session.

At the hour appointed, in the evening, the State House was filled to overflowing. It was the opinion of some who were near the door, that thousands went away, because they were unable to enter the Hall. The meeting was opened with prayer, by

Rev. Mr. Goodman, of Dracont. Rev. Mr. Scott, of Lowell, introduced a resolution, in regard to the encouraging prospects of the cause, which he sustained with an able speech of some length, in which he answered some of the prominent objections against abolition doctrines, in a very lucid manner.

He was followed by Ellis Gray Loring, Esq. of Boston, who gave his reasons, as a moderate man, for embracing abolition doctrines. This was an able defence of the principles and measures of the Anti-Slavery Society. He was followed by Mr. Stanton, who spoke in relation to Slavery in the District of Columbia. But, before the close of his remarks, he was interrupted by the noise about the doors of the hall, which had created more or less disturbance, during the whole meeting. However, so far as we can learn, this disturbance did not wholly proceed from an intention to interrupt the meeting, (or in other words, from a mobbish spirit,) but from the great pressure of the crowd, which rendered it almost impossible for those ever so well disposed to preserve order. However, after a pause of some minutes, Mr. Stanton made one mighty effort to secure the attention of the audience in which he succeeded in holding them in almost breathless silence as long as he chose to address them; and when he sat down it was with shouts of applause. Notice was then given that a meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Society would be held the next day, in which Mr. Dresser would repeat the narrative of his treatment at Nashville. Upon this announcement, the Hall resounded with the name of "Dresser now! Dresser now!" and, though it was after 9 o'clock, the shout was so loud, earnest, and repeated, that there was no denial, and Mr. Dresser made his appearance, and repeated his narrative, with some additional particulars. After passing a vote of thanks for the use of the Hall, the Society adjourned.

Thursday Morning, Jan. 26.

Isaac Winslow, Esq. in the chair. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Fitch. Mr. Norris, of Haverhill, introduced a resolution, regarding the abolition enterprise as the only effectual remedy for slavery, which he sustained by a few appropriate remarks, and was followed by Mr. Root of Dover, on the same subject. Rev. Mr. Russell, of Lynn, followed, and spoke of the encouraging aspect of the cause, when compared with what it was a few years ago, when he attended the first annual meeting of the society. He also demonstrated, by an appeal to facts, that the dissemination of anti-slavery doctrines has a tendency not to stir up insurrection among the slaves, but among pale-faced aristocrats.

Rev. Mr. Fitch offered a resolution, that, while we sustain the right of free discussion, we should not forget the cause of the poor slave. He made some thrilling statements, in regard to the condition of the slaves, which produced deep emotion. Mr. Grosvenor seconded the resolution, and sustained it by reference to a fact in ancient history, respecting Tarquin and Lucretia.

Mr. Johnson, a colored man of Boston, was now introduced. He gave a deeply interesting narrative of his capture in Africa, and his subsequent treatment in slavery, by the manner in which slaves were treated, many parts of which were enough to move a heart of stone. Though his story was long, it was listened to with great interest. Although his opportunities of learning must have been very limited, yet he shows that he is by no means destitute of shrewdness and intelligence.

Mr. Wright moved that the thanks of the Society be voted to Mr. Southwick, for the able manner in which he had presided over the Society for the past year, and mentioned that he declined, (on account of some circumstances which rendered it inconvenient for him to attend to the duties of the office,) to continue at the head of the society; which was adopted. A vote of thanks was also tendered to Mr. Sears, for the use of the room in which the meetings were held.

Mr. Amasa Walker presented the subject of the Free Church Edifice, about being erected on that spot, as worthy the patronage of Abolitionists, on the ground that it would be open for free discussion. He was followed by Mr. May, and several others who spoke in favor of rendering aid to the object. Mr. Garrison introduced a resolution in regard to George Thompson, which was unanimously adopted.

LADIES' MEETING.

Three o'clock P. M. Artists' Gallery.

This meeting was opened by singing the 13th of 'Songs of the Free,' and prayer, by Rev. Mr. Chase, a colored gentleman, of Providence. After which, Mr. Dresser made an address, in which he gave a graphic picture of slavery. He was followed by Mr. Stanton, in an able address, on the same subject. The hall was filled with ladies and gentlemen, who listened to these addresses with profound attention and deep emotion.

Friday Morning, Jan. 27.

Society met in the Anti-Slavery Rooms, No. 46, Washington Street, and concluded the business of the Society, by passing various important resolutions, one of which was, to direct the Board of Managers to take efficient measures to sustain the Liberator. The proceedings of the meetings, with a report of the speeches, will appear in full in our next; and as the Society has ordered 3000 extra copies of that number of the Liberator, our friends will be able to obtain these important proceedings for distribution.—*Liberator*.

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, February 7, 1837.

ABOLITION.

Mr. Cushing had, he said, a subject of some delicacy to bring before the House. It so happened that, in his district, the better half of creation amounted to two-thirds of the whole population. He had been honored by them with a great number of petitions for the abolition of slavery in this District, which he proceeded to present.

He submitted the petitions, the whole number of signatures to which was 3524—all females. He had also to beg pardon of the gentleman from N. Hampshire, Mr. Cushman, who represented the District in New Hampshire, adjoining to his, for appearing in any way, to interfere with his concerns. He did not know that the ladies of New Hampshire had any general objection to the "Previous Question," (the cognomen of Mr. Cushman) but, on this occasion, they had honored him (Mr. Cushing) with their preference, so far as to make him their organ in their communications to this House.

Mr. Cushman here rose, and taking off his hat made a profound bow to Mr. Cushing.

Mr. Cushing then presented seven and twenty abolition petitions, all from ladies resident in the District in New Hampshire which is represented by Mr. Cushman.

Mr. Adams rose and commenced the presentation of a very huge pile of abolition petitions—some of which, he informed the House were probably of a spurious character, sent to him for the purpose of rendering him ridiculous and absurd before the public.

Mr. Adams kept the floor, as usual nearly the whole day. After many petitions had been presented Mr. Adams presented a petition from the ladies of Fredericksburg, Virginia, against the domestic slave trade.

Mr. Adams rose and said he had a petition from 22 persons who declared themselves to be slaves. He wished to know, by decision of the Chair whether it came under the rule of the House directing certain petitions to be laid on the table. He should retain the petition till the question was decided.

Mr. Lewis said it was in the power of the House to punish this attempt to present a petition from slaves to this House. If it was not in our power we had better go home. [Several gentlemen here cried out, that the member from Massachusetts ought to be instantly expelled from the House.]

Mr. Alford said the moment the petition was presented and came within the reach of the House he should move that it be taken from the files and burnt. He called on Southern members to support him in this course. If this state of things was to be tolerated, the Union would not last long.

Mr. Patton rose to remark that a petition presented by Mr. Adams, this morning, from Fredericksburg, Va. was genuine. He had examined it and found it to be so; but it was signed by free mulattoes and of the most infamous character.

Mr. Thompson, of S. C. rose to ask the member from Massachusetts to present his petition from slaves, or to move its reading. He would bring himself within a resolution of a personal character which he held in his hand—a resolution, expelling Mr. Adams from the House.)

Mr. Patton moved to suspend the rules in order to introduce a motion relative to the petition from Fredericksburg, Va., presented by Mr. Adams. The question was taken by yeas and nays, and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Thompson, of S. C. moved that Mr. Adams be brought to the bar of the House and receive the severe censure of the Speaker for having insulted the House by attempting to present a petition from slaves. (Now under discussion half past 3)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, February 9, 1837.

MR. ADAMS.

The House resumed the subject of the resolutions for the censure of the Hon. John Quincy Adams, for having brought to the notice of the House a petition from slaves, by stating that he held in his hand a paper purporting to be a petition from slaves, and thereby giving color to the idea that slaves have the right of petition, and that he (Mr. A.) is willing to become their organ. The question being on the amendment offered by Mr. Patton, as follows:

Resolved, That the right of petition does not belong to slaves, and that no petition from them can be presented to this House, without derogating from the rights of the slave-holding states, and endangering the integrity of the Union.

Resolved, That any member who shall hereafter present any such petition to the House, ought to be considered as regardless of the feelings of this House, the rights of the South, and an enemy to the Union.

Resolved, That the Hon. John Q. Adams, having solemnly disclaimed all design of doing any thing disrespectful to the House in the inquiry he made of the Speaker as to the petition purporting to be from slaves, and having avowed his intention not to offer to present the petition, if the House was of opinion that it ought not to be presented; therefore all further proceedings in regard to his conduct now cease.

Mr. French of Kentucky, being entitled to the floor, rose and spoke at some length on the subject generally.

Mr. Milligan, of Delaware, after some remarks on the subject, adverted to the shortness of the time allowed for the completion of the business of the session, and moved that the subject be laid on the table.

Mr. ADAMS rose and earnestly resisted the motion to lay the subject on the table. Nothing, he said, would grieve him more than to dismiss the subject, without affording him an opportunity to address the House in his defence, after having been arraigned at its bar, on account of his conduct here.

Mr. Milligan withdrew his motion to lay on the table.

Mr. Adams then said he did not wish to arrest the deliberations of the House. But before the question was taken, he desired the privilege to address the House in a double capacity, and as the individual arraigned. He also gave notice that if the Resolution of censure did not pass, he should then call the attention of the House to the original question, concerning which the present proceedings had arisen.

Several members addressed the Chair at once, but the floor was obtained by

Mr. Evans, of Maine, who spoke at length in opposition to the proposition to censure the hon. member from Massachusetts. He said that nothing would be more vague and indefinite than the charge made in the resolution. It charged the member not with any specific offence, but with "giving color to an idea." Some gentlemen, however, supported the resolution, because Mr. Adams had presented a petition from free colored women, and others because he had presented many abolition petitions; but neither of those charges were put in the resolution. But the gentlemen from Ga. (Mr. Halsey) made the offence to consist in criminal intent, to be inferred from his conduct; others said that his offence was in having committed an outrage on the feelings of the House. All these charges he considered and attempted to show their insufficiency. He admitted the right of the House to punish for disorderly conduct any of its members, but no disorder was imputed to the member now arraigned. He had violated no parliamentary rule. He said that this matter was destined to make a great excitement in the country; and he warned gentlemen that every attempt to suppress the liberty of speech, of the press and of

petition, the greater was the number of champions who would be raised up in their defence. He also maintained, that the assertion of opposition to slavery and the internal slave trade at the North, was not an insult to the South. The doctrines of Virginia, as maintained by all the leading statesmen of Virginia, from the revolution till the present time, was that slavery was a moral and political evil. The northern petitioners had borrowed their language and their doctrines in reference to slavery from the Virginia orators and statesmen.

Here sundry questions of order arose, and the subject remained under discussion, Thursday Feb. 9, at 3 o'clock P. M.

THE RIGHT TO PETITION.

We are pleased to see the stand taken by Mr. Hammond, as shown in the following article. Whilst we agree with him in all he says as to the right of petitioning Congress, we protest, of course, against the slur he casts against Abolitionism as being fanatical. It is full time Mr. H. had examined the subject—and ceased giving countenance by his example, to the abuse of others far less worthy than he in every respect.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

J. Q. ADAMS—ABOLITION.

The course of J. Q. Adams, in Congress, on the subject of presenting abolition petitions, has been censured by some. It meets my unqualified approbation. I rejoice that there is one man in Congress, who has the boldness to stand up for what is right, the firmness to maintain his ground against denunciation—the talent to sustain himself, though assailed by violence on one side, and meanly deserted, by cowardly skulkers, on the other.

Abolitionism, in its essence, in its pretensions, in its fanaticism, has nothing to do with the position of Mr. Adams. He is avowedly no abolitionist. He plants himself upon the right of petition: upon the right of every citizen to present his grievances for hearing and redress to a legislative body, whom the petitioner honestly supposes may act upon his case. Here is his own explanation of his motives, in the movement which has been the occasion of so much fury in Congress.

"Mr. Adams said he did not present nor offer to present the petition. He asked the Speaker he said, whether a petition purporting to be from slaves, came under the order of the 10th ult. The Speaker's reply he wished and had not yet received. He did not say that it was a petition for the abolition of slavery."

If it had been a petition for the abolition of slavery from slaves, he might not have presented it, without much hesitation. The mere circumstance of the petitioners being slaves would not have prevented him from presenting the petition. He felt bound to be explicit on this point. If the House chose to censure him for this declaration he was willing to submit to it.

If the slaves were to send him a petition of a nature unreasonable and unjust, he would exert his discretion in regard to the matter, and withhold it. What was a petition? a supplication from an inferior to a superior power—such as we all both bond and free, address to the Almighty. Any petition of a reasonable nature he would present and consider, no matter from whom it might come.

If a horse, or a dog, had the power of speech, and should request him to present a petition for more comfortable quarters, he would present it, if the house would allow him to do so. If he was brought to the Bar of the house, he hoped he should be heard in his defence. But he took this opportunity to say that whatever was the opinion of the gentleman from South Carolina he had no disposition to trifle with the house. As an evidence of it, he did not follow the impulse of his feelings, which would have led him to present the petition, at once, without asking leave of the house, but he asked the Chair whether he could present it.—The Chair said it was a question now to him, and that he must refer to the proper authorities. That answer he still wanted, and, by it, he intended to be governed."

The Constitution of the U. States secures the right of petition. The provision is found in the first amendment; that amendment originated in Virginia, and is in these words:

"Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

The right to petition is here secured, in connection with the right to enjoy religious opinion and the freedom of speech and of the press. Thus this right to petition is arranged with, and noted as, one of the great fundamental rights of freemen. Mr. Adams does nothing but maintain this right, in presenting abolition petitions. In the uproar raised, by Southern members of Congress, against receiving these petitions, there is a direct attempt to subvert a Constitutional right. I venerate the man who distinguishes between an unwise use of a right on one side, and an unconstitutional effort to subvert that right, on the other; who plants himself in the breach, and regardless of consequences, does his duty—

"In Freedom's field advancing his firm foot,
He plants it on the line that Justice draws,
And will prevail or perish in her cause."

The institution of slavery is a subject upon which Congress may be called to act in several particulars. Surely, none will deny, that Congress may regulate, if not abolish it, in the District of Columbia. Under the Constitution, Congress, unquestionably, have power to regulate the reclamation of slaves, where they may have escaped from one State to another. The slave-trade, upon the high seas, and in American vessels, is subject to the legislation of Congress. The suppression of "domestic violence," terms circumscriptively used as descriptive of servile insurrection, is also a subject on which Congress may be called to act. In fact, that body ought, before now, to have acted upon all these subjects. The citizens may consider the action of Congress, or the omission of Congress to act upon any, or upon all these subjects, as a grievance that should be "redressed." Consequently, under the Constitution, any one or more of them has a right to prefer a petition asking that this grievance may be redressed. The request may be unreasonable—unseasonable—injudicious—ridiculous, if you please—but, if sincerely made, and in respectful terms, the Constitution binds Congress to receive it. When received, it may be disposed of as sound policy and a just regard for the public interest require. If asking, as in the case of abolition, that which,

under all circumstances, Congress ought not to act upon, the petition should be laid on the table, and not allowed to be called up.

In respect to abolition petitions, the South has assumed an unconstitutional attitude.—She denies the right to petition.—She denounces the exercise of the right—and she contemns members of Congress, who differently regard their constitutional obligations, as no better than incendiaries. Mr. Adams, in the true spirit of those who throw the tea into the water, says—"Nay, gentlemen, I take no side with these petitioners—I disapprove their object—but they have rights under the Constitution, and they ask me to assert those rights here, in their behalf, and I do so. I regret to give you offence. I more than regret the fury you manifest, but I cannot swerve from the performance of a duty, which I feel that I owe to the Constitution and to the rights of a fellow-citizen, however injudiciously asserted." In this light, I regard the course of Mr. Adams, that has recently drawn upon him so much opprobrium. Thus viewing it, I deem it my duty, as I feel it my privilege, to express my opinion in relation to it. Were I a member of Congress, I should be proud to stand by Mr. Adams in the contest in which he is engaged. Regardless who are the petitioners, or what the object, if the one be respectful and Congress can have power over the other, I would never shrink from their presentation, or be driven, unless by brute force, from maintaining the right to present them.

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